8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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532. Eiki pea oi: Chief and striving. 539 565 829 183

The expression refers to a chief who, although he is a chief and able to enjoy his rank in safety and affluence, is not satisfied and sets on foot schemes by which he hopes to gain more. The upshot of his endeavors is the loss of what he had. Generally of a man who is not contented with the prosperity he has, will not leave well alone, and who through his discontented strivings comes off worse than he was before.

533. Hau ki nima: Lord to (by) hand. 539 565 557

Refers primarily to those chiefs who enjoyed great prestige not by right of birth but by right of conquest. Used generally of those who acquire privilege or status by violence.

534. Hau pea kui: King and blind. 539 643 829

Used of one who is a king but is regardless of the interests of his people. Especially it is employed of one who before his elevation to such high rank manifested good qualities that marked him as one fit for rule, but on succeeding to kingship changed to harshness and incapacity to win his people's affections. Not unlike Tacitus' "Fully capable of rule if he had never ruled."

535. Hongea moe houeiki: Enduring famine with the chiefs. 539 565 622 731 511

The chiefs were the great reservoirs into which flowed the food and wealth of the country; it was indeed tabu to eat the more valued kinds of food without first presenting the chiefs with their proper share. In times of scarcity the rank and file came off very badly but those who had the good fortune to be closely associated with the great chiefs were in the way of getting a share of whatever sustenance the country afforded. (Compare No. 544.)

536. Koe lau ia he koe tala ki he tui: That's talk. What, is it telling the king? 539 578 643

Used derisively by one man to another who threatens to report his conduct to a third person. Much like, "Pooh, what do I care if you do tell so-and-so? Is he the king that I should mind him?" (See No. 569.)

537. Lea hange ha Pelehake: Speak like a Pelehake. 539 565 622 195 537

The Pelehake is one of the great chiefly houses of Eastern Tongatabu. We have not discovered whether the Pelehake had any special connection with ceremonial or other speech or whether this proverb refers to the fact that the chiefs generally were the great repositories of information about correct and graceful language and ceremony. The phrase means to speak well, with well-modulated resonant voice and forceful, graceful diction.

538. Oku hiki mai pe ho mua vala ka koe Haafeva pe koe: The front of your *vala* is lifted but you are only a Haafeva man. 539 565

This refers to the chiefly *vala* or dress, called *vakai*, which consists of a very large piece of native cloth wrapped in several thicknesses round 554 291

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

group, certainly in many instances, and probably in all, through association with the Tui Kanokupolu. The expression indicates one who has no right to the privilege of speaking in the royal *malae*, or meeting ground. The expression is used, as would be a similar phrase in English, as a rebuke to one who speaks where it would be more seemly for him to keep silent.

543. Laujii faka-Hihifo: Narrow in the western way.

Hihifo, meaning literally the point where the sun sets, is the general name given to the western districts of the various islands. Here the district indicated is the western part of Tongatabu, which is narrow, and whose circumscribed area one might naturally expect to find reflected in a paucity of provisions. It is the seat of the great Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship, and its people by a wise use of their resources never fail to set forth a ceremony or banquet with true chiefly munificence. The phrase is used of those who by their prudence overcome the niggardliness of nature.

544. Nonofo mo Tukuaho kae fie kai gako: Living with Tukuaho yet in want of rich food (literally fat).

This is a very unlikely contingency, for Tukuaho, one of the Tui Kanokupolu who reigned at the close of the 18th century, was a great chief and those in close contact with him would be sure to be well supplied with the best food that the country could furnish. See No. 535 for a similar expression of the belief that the vicinity of the great chiefs was the place to find the best provisions that the country afforded.

545. Oua e tangi ke tatau Don't desire to be equal
Naa ita a Taufaahau: Lest Taufaahau be angry.

Evidently of recent origin, as the use of the name Taufaahau began with the famous George Tupou I, whose name it was. The sense is, smaller folk should not try to make themselves the equals of such a mighty chief.

THE TUI TONGA

[The Tui Tonga and his house were the pinnacles of Tongan nobility, claiming descent from the gods. The sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tui Tonga Fefine, Female Tui Tonga, and had rank superior even to the Tui Tonga himself. Since a Female Tui Tonga who was sister of the reigning Tui Tonga did not lose her rank if her brother pre-deceased her, but held it till her own death, the Female Tui Tonga was either aunt or sister to the contemporary Tui Tonga. The first child of the Female Tui Tonga by one of two special chiefs was the topmost pinnacle of Tongan nobility, particularly if a daughter. This first born child was called the Tamaha. Should a son be born to the Female Tui Tonga and afterwards a daughter it would seem that the daughter was the Tamaha. There appears however to be a little laxity in the use of this title. The actual power of the Tui Tonga has evidently been declining for centuries, and passing more and

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Pangai

nuts were used for this purpose). On the remaining two days boiled food was eaten for the evening meal but an oven was made for the morning meal. Cooking food by oven, as already noted, is more laborious than the simple boiling. Large quantities of firewood must be collected, the oven heated, and time consumed in waiting for the food to be cooked. However, on these two days, it was possible to give variety to the diet by adding *kape*, *manioke*, and *papaia* to the oven-cooking.

The other three diet schedules follow the same trend as given in this example. There is a certain emphasis on one or other of the staples (*manioke*, *taro*, *kape*, plantain, green bananas) according to taste and relative amounts of each staple produced in the household-gardens. Breadfruit, yam, and sweet potato, are something of a luxury at this time of the year.

The amounts of food eaten were quantitatively measured by striking average weights for each staple, based upon actual weighing of tubers of *taro*, etc., and of plantains and bananas. The weights of these tubers vary somewhat during the year, depending on time of planting and harvesting. Thus, *kape* planted in March and harvested fourteen months later, weigh up to eighteen pounds.

One further variation in the diets is due to the amount of money (if any) that a household is prepared to spend on food, mainly meat and fish, and to the degree to which either the men or the women of the household are prepared to fish or explore the reef for edible relish. The head of Household A in Table 6 earned a small salary as a village school-teacher. In one week he was able to spend the sum of twelve shillings buying canned meat and fish. For this amount, he bought eight pounds of canned meat, six fresh fish and four small cans of fish. But he was practically the only person in the village who could spend at this rate and hence have protein as a steady diet for his household. A fisherman in Household B fished twice in this week, catching each time about twenty-five small fish, enough for two meals. The women in Household D concentrated on exploring the reef in such fashion that the household could enjoy reef-food for about

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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574 comparatively large sum of money for the purchase of a new
439 boat, a cart, or a house. Thus, Hausia wished to buy a large
432 Tongan-style house with an iron roof from its Pangai-born
262 owner who had left the village to live at Tongatapu. Hausia proposed to remove this house from its present site and
(435) erect it on his own house lot. The price of the house was fifteen pounds. Hausia had saved up five pounds. He wished to raise the rest of the purchase-price as soon as possible. He announced to the village that he would hold a food-distribution on a certain day. For this distribution he slaughtered all his pigs and one cow. He also prepared large quantities of food. On the day of the distribution, members of each Pangai household and visitors from all the nearby villages visited Hausia. They were given food to eat and a section of pork or beef to take home. In return each visitor
574 left with Hausia from two to four shillings as a gift towards
439 the price of the new house. At the end of the day, all Hausia's
432 food had been eaten, all his meat given away, but he had
431 acquired about twelve pounds in money. It may be noted that the villagers do not think of this transaction as a sale. They make a gift of money because money is needed. Hausia makes a return-gift of meat because it is a desirable food. By this gift-exchange, Hausia raises a substantial sum of money while villagers and visitors get plenty of food to eat and meat to take home.

Income and Expenditure

434 As will be evident from the following discussion, Pangai
511 operates today partly on a self-subsistence economy and partly on a money-economy. Food for the everyday diet is largely raised through gardening and does not involve the expenditure of money. Additional delicacies for a feast, however, generally necessitate recourse to the store. Money-
(432) economy is more importantly involved in the purchase of clothing, soap, kerosene, matches, and the like.

434 Perhaps the best way to show the manner in which this
511 money-economy is geared to the everyday life of the villager is to present in some detail the income- and expenditure-
592 accounts of two Pangai households.

Sesoni and his household (2 adults and 5 children) can very well be taken as representative of the average village

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

family. He has an *api* of about ten acres, part of which he uses for gardening, part for the growing of coconuts and bananas. His income from the sale of copra and bananas is about £10 a year. His fixed expenditures for twelve months were:

Government rent for *api*		8s 0d
Government poll-tax		£1 16s 0d
Church contributions		£2 0s 0d
	Total	£4 4s 0d

This leaves Sesoni about £6 a year for expenditures on clothing, kerosene, soap, matches, tobacco, and extra foods for his household. The money buys very little of these extra items. But Sesoni seems to get along well enough.

A second record is that of Biukala. His household consists of four adults and five children. His is a higher standard of living because of the fact that he has come to control by inheritance and immediate renting three *api* in Pangai and one *api* in Tongatapu and has had some initiative in growing vegetables for sale to the Europeans in Neiafu. He is a young man, a graduate from the government college in Nukualofa, with definite ideas of raising his status and that of his children. In this he is a-typical. In other words, he is not the easy-going villager. He is a man with a mission in life. His budget, therefore, is not typical of the other villagers. It may be given in detail, however, to show by contrast what a high standard of living is for a Pangai household.

TABLE 8.—INCOME AND EXPENDITURE
7 months (June-December, 1938)

Income	£	s	d	Expenditure	£	s	d
Sale of copra	6	3	0	Poll-taxes	1	8	0
Sale of garden produce	10	19	6	*Api* rents	1	0	0
Sale of tobacco leaf	3	8	6	Church gifts	3	8	0
Sale of pigs	1	17	0	Son's birthday feast	3	7	6
				Food, seeds, clothing	2	19	3
				Christmas gift to mother	5	0	0
Total	£22	8	0	Total	£17	2	9
				Cash balance	£5	5	3

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Pangai

434 Some further notes may be added concerning Biukala's
511 expenditure. His poll-tax payments include his own as well
592 as those of a man from the island of Uvea who has taken up
[651] residence in his household and who assists in turn with
[429] gardening and copra making. The rents are for three *api*
[794] in Pangai and a fourth in Tongatapu. Church gifts include
the quarterly offering of 6/-, together with a special
missionary offering of £2 0s 0d and the gift to the church of
a can of kerosene. Biukala, obviously, is a very strong
functioning member of the church. For the first birthday
[529] of his only son to whom Biukala is greatly attached, the
father made a large feast. Besides large quantities of
Tongan food (including an additional pig which had to be
purchased), Biukala bought from the store such foods as
flour, sugar, fish, spices (his wife has learned to bake cakes),
melons, canned milk. He also bought as a birthday-gift for
his son a fathom of piece goods to make a *vala* for the
infant. This birthday-feast in consequence, is remembered
as one of the really big village functions of the year. The
[432] other store expenditures of these months include the usual
soap, kerosene, flour, sugar, canned meat, canned fish, and
piece-goods for *vala* as well as seeds for his garden.
[431] Biukala's mother lives on a town-lot in Nukualofa. Here
money economy is much more important than in Pangai, and
his substantial gift was doubtless of great value to the
mother.

434 It is not possible to estimate with any accuracy the total
439 income of Pangai village as a whole. Money is obtained
principally from the sale of copra, bananas, and pineapples,
and from services. Of these sources, copra sales are highest
on the list, sale of bananas second, the sale of pineapples and
services (stevedoring for one or two men, occasional work
in a store), far below the others. Some few men in the
village make a point of being vitally interested in banana
exportation. Each of these men tries to prepare from eight
to ten cases of bananas for export about five or six times each
year. He receives from three to five shillings per case,
depending on market price. About five other men in the
village occasionally export one case of bananas each. Thus,
under the most favourable conditions, each man in the first
group may add perhaps £10 to his yearly income and each

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

can develop into important agencies for the country's economic development.

Tonga differs most from other Pacific island groups in that European planters play an insignificant role in its agriculture. It has been the studied and consistent policy of the government to prevent the development of European plantations and the consequent growth of a native proletariat. No one can buy land in Tonga, and leases to Europeans are severely restricted. Less than 1,700 have been granted, and nearly all of them are for commercial or residential sites. Only 24 are for agricultural purposes, and none for an area of more than two hundred acres. These small plantations rely for their labour upon the 350 Solomon Islanders and Fijians resident in the Kingdom.

Tongan Trade

Commerce, particularly monetary commerce, is unimportant in a land of subsistence farmers. Tonga has a considerable trade in such local products as livestock, fish, vegetables, fruit, baskets, mats and tapa cloth, but it is largely unorganised and mostly on a basis of barter. The Tongan needs money for few purposes other than to pay his rent and poll tax, to subscribe to his church, and to purchase a few imported articles. The comparative unimportance of monetary transactions is shown by exports per head amounting to only £2·9 in 1938, imports per head to £2·4, and native taxes per head to £0·2.*

Imports, indeed, play a very small direct role in the Tongan standard of living. Nearly a quarter of them consist either of producers' materials —copra sacks, banana shooks, timber, cordage, and rope—or of goods which are largely for European consumption—tobacco, beer, spirits, automobiles and benzine. The significance of the imports that enter

*Statistical summary of Tonga's Foreign Trade (Tongan Gazette).

Year	Copra Exports	Average Price of Copra	Bananas	Other Exports	Total Exports	Total Imports
	£A	£A per ton	£A	£A	£A	£A
1933	105,028	9·2	—	9,419	114,447	86,007
1934	59,941	5·9	—	18,901	77,842	48,526
1935	79,003	6·6	—	11,708	90,711	68,782
1936	105,078	8·8	—	11,461	116,539	92,296
1937	158,133	13·1	4,128	2,359	164,620	137,365
1938	90,398	7·3	3,507	4,558	98,463	82,795
1939	64,545	6·1	12,026	3,249	79,820	70,696
1940	43,896	6·0	12,905	5,474	62,275	76,360
1941	25,548	6·0	24,179	6,732	56,459	71,943
1942	89,771	11·0	26,043	4,574	120,388	144,110

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

into Tongan consumption is shown by the following list of per capita expenditures in 1938: Biscuits 11d; Butter 8d; Drapery 6s. 4d; Flour 4s. 9d; Tinned meat 4s. 7d; Soap 1s. 3d; Sugar 1s. 9d; Kerosene 1s. 0d. (est.). A typical household probably spends about £6 a year on store goods, but it should not be thought that this modest outlay reflects satisfaction with the Tongan standard of living. The people are eager to buy imported commodities, particularly drapery, tinned meat and kerosene, but are severely restricted in their purchases by low cash incomes. Imports always respond closely to exports, and exports depend overwhelmingly on the price of copra.

Copra has always been by far the most important export, and during the last twenty years it has been Tonga's misfortune that copra prices have fluctuated about a steeply declining trend. In the decade after 1924 they fell from £20·5 a ton to £5·9, recovered to £13·1 in 1937, but fell again to £6 in 1941. As a result export income shrank from about £270,000 a year in the early 'twenties to £104,000 in the late 'thirties. The Kingdom's dependence upon this erratic and precarious source of income has been relieved by a growing export trade in bananas which began in 1932 when the New Zealand government allotted banana quotas to the various island groups, and gave Tonga 20 per cent of the Fiji quota. In 1938 shipments amounted to 11,000 cases for a return of £35,000. Since then the quotas have been lifted and the New Zealand f.o.b. price raised from 7s. to 9s. a case, with the result that Tonga exported £36,000 of bananas in 1942. Bananas now account for a quarter of Tonga's exports, and it is to be hoped that this valuable and stabilising addition to export income can be retained. It will be if Tonga is allowed to keep its present share of the New Zealand market.

Direction of Tongan Trade

The Director of Agriculture has tried to diversify exports further by developing a trade in peanuts and tapa cloth. After testing various seeds he succeeded in establishing a small production of peanuts and in disposing of them in New Zealand. Twelve tons were shipped in 1942 at the satisfactory price of £30 a ton. A strong local demand developed, however, with the arrival of Allied troops and killed this promising export trade. A market was found for tapa cloth in Britain which took forty-four tons in 1941 at a price of £20 a ton, but exports ceased when the spread of the War to the Pacific created insuperable

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

population movement and the rapidity and extent of its growth since 1956 are likely to have important consequences which will bear heavily on traditional political, social and economic customs and practices throughout the kingdom. Until the mid-1950s, population movement was more especially to rural Tongatapu rather than to Nuku'alofa. Thus during this period (1931-56) Nuku'alofa's annual growth rate (5.2 percent) was less than that of rural Tongatapu (6.3 percent), but since then the growth rate of Nuku'alofa (7.4 percent) has exceeded that of rural Tongatapu (5.3 percent). The most urban part of the town, Kolofo'ou, grew at an even faster rate (8.6 percent) while nearby Havelu Loto, the centre of the only sizeable industry on the island,[17] grew at the fantastic annual rate of 35.7 percent between 1956 and 1966. Where village growth exceeded or nearly approximated that of Nuku'alofa, it was either in very small villages, where an influx of a handful of settlers would give apparently spectacular increases, or in settlements to the centre and east of the island for reasons noted above. In 1956 Nuku'alofa contained 29 percent of Tongatapu's population and 16 percent of that of the kingdom; in 1966 these percentages had risen to 33 and 20 respectively.[18] This demonstrates both the increasing importance of Nuku'alofa in terms of total population and the marked tendency for population movement to Tongatapu to be urban-orientated.

Factors *pushing* people out of the outer islands and *pulling* them towards Tongatapu and Nuku'alofa are: the greater opportunities for social mobility in recent years: the changing economic needs of the average Tongan; easier transport between islands; and, more recently, the advertising (over the Tongan radio) of the attractions of Nuku'alofa; overpopulation; land tied up in title disputes and in other ways kept back from distribution; the low price for copra; two hurricanes in the northern islands in 1961 and 1963; and the decimation of the banana by black leaf streak and other diseases in Vava'u. If one single cause can sum up these various and interrelated factors, it is the need for money.[19]

It is not possible to know which islands and villages have recently contributed most to Nuku'alofa's growth, for the 1966 census contained no special statistics on towns. The following remarks, therefore, are based mainly on information extracted from the 1956 census sorting

[17] Quasi-government industries producing coconut by-products and furniture.

[18] Of the other two towns, Neiafu contained 23 percent of the Vava'u population in 1956 and 26 percent in 1966; the respective figures for Pangai-Hihifo were 28 and 25 percent. Neiafu grew at an annual rate of 2.5 percent; Pangai-Hihifo lost population (—0.5 percent p.a.)

[19] Walsh (1964): 179-197 discusses migrants' reasons for moving to Nuku'alofa. Some implications of these factors are discussed below. See 'Mobility and Economic Development.'

men of enterprise who use a *pa* trap for catching fish sometimes sell their catch to the villagers or to the people of Mu'a, the ancient capital of the Kingdom lying 3 miles south of Nukuleka.

Eiki Tevita Leka

The high chief of Nukuleka is Tevita Leka, a *matapule* of the present Queen. His family have been sailors of the Tui Tonga for generations. There is a story about his ancestor. Long ago, a daughter of the Tui Tonga became pregnant, but did not disclose her lover's name. Getting angry, the Tui Tonga was going to kill her, when Haavea Leka, a *matapule* of Ha'afeva island in Haapai, came in and asked permission to take her with him to his own island. On departing, Haave asked the Tui Tonga as a special favour to name the baby Leka and make him *toutai*, a sailor, of the Tui Tonga, if the baby should be a boy. The Tui Tonga later called the boy Leka back to Hu'a and made him a chief sailor of the *kalia*, a double canoe, named Lomupeau.

The genealogical distance between this first Leka and the present one is not clear, although Tevita Leka can identify six generations before him. Many years ago, the Tui Tonga ordered Leka to reside in this village which was formerly called Nuku. The messenger from the Tui Tonga to Leka often lost his way, for there were a number of places named Nuku in Tonga. The name Nukuleka was then given to avoid the confusion.

Today Leka lives in the same way as an ordinary villager, working his own *api tukuhau* of 8¼ acres, and sleeping in a house thatched with plaited coconut leaves. But he is of the highest rank among the villagers and none is able to take a seat above him. Even in a church a chair is reserved for him beside the pulpit. As *matapule* of the Queen, he announces the order of the Queen to the villagers. He may ask the villagers to offer pigs, yams and *pola* (plaited coconut leaves used as a food tray) piled with food cooked in the earth oven, on special occasions like the birthday of the Queen or the two princes or on the feast to an honoured guest. Sometimes he visits the palace in the capital to serve the guest of the Queen. When the Queen visits other islands of the Kingdom, he may follow her as his ancestor did. But his most important duty as a *matapule* is to attend the *fai kava* given by the Queen which is usually held on her birthday in the palace or in the open space in front of the palace. The order of drinking *kava* is as follows; the Queen, Lauaki, Motua paka, Noble Nuku, Noble Luani and Tevita Leka.[1]

In the village life Leka has a special role in catching the *ika faka fonua*, literally 'the fish of the village". The *ika faka fonua* of Nukuleka is the *matai*, a hammer-headed shark, that comes near the coast from October to March. If the *matai* does not appear in this season, Leka goes to the graveyard to offer *kava* roots and to pray to his ancestor. This prayer will be heard without fail. Anyone who sees a *matai* out to sea calls *"Matai, Matai!"* when all the villagers gather on the beach, and men both young and old sail out with sticks and paddles in their hands. As soon as Leka hears the call of *matai* he hurries to his home. While they

1. This seat-ordering which Leka indicated is not different from the kava ring cited by Collocott. Collocott 1927: 28.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

are inshore, if he should step out of his house, the *matai* will get away. Formerly, the head of the *matai* was always offered to Leka.

Other *matapule* and *ofisa kolo*

Besides Leka, there are two *matapule*, Mautea and Ikaholi, in this village. Mautea was appointed to the position of a *matapule* of the Queen by one of his relations, Lauaki, in 1950, who was the chief *matapule* of the Queen. Mautea thinks that his duty as a *matapule* is to participate in royal funerals. He also attends the kava ceremony held by the Queen, but is not aware of the order of drinking kava. Ikaholi, succeeding to his grandfather, has become a *matapule* of a noble at Mu'a. He is quite young and has no knowledge about the duty of a *matapule*.

Ofisa kolo, town officer, was a man of fifty eight years old at the times of this study. He held this position from 1930 to 1943 and from 1958 on. The premier appoints the officer and the Government pays him a small amount of money. As a representative of the villagers as well as an agent of the Government, he reports every day within the village, takes charge of the wooden cases for bananas which are brought in by the Tongan Produce Board, and announces the Government's intentions at the *fono*, village council. According to him, the qualification of town officer is to belong to a good family, to have never done wrong, to have his own *api tukuhau* and so on. Since the term of town officer is unlimited, one remains in office usually until death or retirement. The *ofisa kolo* of this village has several times requested the Premier to replace him for reasons of health, but he still retains his office. There seems to be little difference between thse men and ordinary villagers in economic life or status. The size of the *api tukuhau* held by them is about the same as others and the crop produced on it is mostly consumed by their families.

II Family

Household Composition

There are 35 households in this village. We may exclude two households of the stewards of the Free Wesleyan Church and the Free Church of Tonga from the village households in what follows. The household is a unit of everyday living. Its members usually share a common *fale moheofo* (sleeping room), *fale kuki* (kitchen), *fale kaukau* (bath room), and *fale malolo* (rest room). Some of the households do not have *fale kaukau* or *fale malolo*. The location of households is sketched in Fig. 1.[8] The size of the household varies, with an average of 6.15 persons.

Table 1. The Household Size and Generational Composition

No. of Persons	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	13	Total
1 Generation	1	1									2
2 Generations	1	5	3	1	2	3	4	3	1		23
3 Generations					3	2	1		1	1	8

8. The household number (1-34) is given to each according to the ecological arrangement of the households. It is interchangeably used for indicating its household head. European style houses, made of wood, are rectangular. Traditional Tongan style houses are thatched with coconut leaves. Semi-traditional Tongan style houses have wooden walls and tin roofs. Fijian style houses, made of coconut leaves, are rectangular.

unpredictable intervals, leaving these islands isolated for many weeks at a time and their people more independent of money and markets than people living on the bigger islands. At the time of the census of 1966 there were 27 islands that had a population of less than one thousand people; these islands comprised just under 10% of the total population of Tonga. Although I was not in a position to investigate it, these village-islands may be different in their political structure from villages that are not isolated from urban centers and from other villages. Certainly, the look of these village-islands reflects a simpler material standard of living than villages on Tongatapu, and this is related to the fact that there is less involvement in the cash economy. It should be noted, however, that the village is probably not a significant unit of variation with respect to the degree of conservativeness of the people living there, for--as we shall see in later chapters--villages as such are not significant units of organization. In this regard it is interesting to note that Belshaw makes a similar point about villages in Fiji.

> However important the village is in sentiment and ceremony, and however conservative Fijians may be with respect to the varieties of cultural expression reflected in villages, villages themselves are not the basis of social or economic variation. The notion that this village is progressive, whereas that is conservative, is too simple an explanation of differences in adjustment that may be evident (1964: 35).

591 household, but economic necessity or expediency. So far
592 as household organization is concerned, what Leach wrote
171 about the Sinhalese could apply equally well to Tonga:
591
592

> Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the expression of social relationships, social behavior is not constrained by the prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their economic lives (1960: 123).

592 The resources available to the Tongan household must
● 611 be sufficient to provide for three types of expenditures:
expenditures for everyday material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions on ceremonial occasions.

The everyday material needs of a household on Tongatapu consist mainly of foodstuffs and fuel, plus petty cash for items such as bus fares, matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally-cultivated
262 subsistence products. A lot of tuberous vegetables are
264 eaten--about one pound per person per day. A typical everyday main meal consists of haka (a pot of boiled sweet-potato, manioc, yam, plantain, taro, or breadfruit--according to what is available on a seasonal or daily basis) plus a small amount of kiki ('relish'--i.e., some form of animal meat), or a stew (supo) made of the same ingredients. A modest morning or evening meal might consist only of cold leftovers or, in the morning, tōpai (a thick porridge of flour and water) and cocoa to drink. Kiki for the main

262 meal might be locally-caught fish or shellfish or canned
264 fish (imported), canned meat (usually corned beef), frozen mutton (imported from New Zealand), or some pork or chicken left over from a feast (for Tongans do not slaughter their livestock to provide mere daily fare).
262 On more remote islands, people have to rely mainly on fresh fish, which they catch themselves. On Tongatapu, however, most kiki is purchased, and a little kiki goes
[435] a long way. A string of ten small fish, weighing about three pounds in all, costs 50 cents; two pounds of cartilaginous breast of mutton costs about 36 cents (these are 1969-70 prices). Each of these amounts is sufficient for kiki for a household of six or seven people. Other everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread, hardtack biscuits, flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and
[511] sweetened and dried condensed milk. The frequency and amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how much cash is available.

592 A household must also have labor available to produce,
511 prepare, and make use of these products, hence the need for 'human capital'. This requirement is particularly evident in the composition of one of the households in Motulahi, where an elderly couple and their fourteen-year-old
[599] granddaughter comprised the household. I was told that the girl had been adopted by them "ke tauhi kinaua--to

592 take care of (tauhi) them (the old couple)".

511 597 Besides expenditures for everyday material needs, a household must have the cash for periodic outlays to pay

592 511 434 members' expenses such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every male over the age of fifteen, church contributions, and schooling expenses for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing and

[454] fabric, households utensils, and other implements. Such purchases and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays that are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly

[655] before it is needed. Men collect coconuts to make copra,

[432] or else sell the undried coconuts directly to the Tonga

[462] Copra Board, while women prepare handicrafts for sale

[245] to tourists (especially the tourists who flood in on the periodic one-day stopovers of cruise ships that visit

[245] Tonga). There is noticably more copra-making activity and also a particularly well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms, and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand. What is left is doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

592 511 476 621 Finally, a household must have the means for its

592 members to make adequate contributions of goods and labor
511 on a wide range of ceremonial occcasions that occur at
476
621 irregular intervals throughout the year such as feasts, funerals, and weddings. There is a class of goods called koloa ('treasure') that come into play only on ceremonial
285 occasions. These consist mainly of finely-woven mats of
287 various kinds (kie, fihu, and ngafingafi) and decorated
554 tapa-cloth (ngatu). Koloa, which is amassed through
431 manufacture by women of the household or through previous ceremonial prestation to members of the household, is used to express status relations between giver and receiver on occasions such as weddings and funerals.[7]
431 If one does not have koloa, one cannot participate in ceremonial exchanges, and not to do so is to be outside the system of rights and obligations that are the founda-
592 tion of anga faka-Tonga ('the Tongan way'). Similarly,
621 to participate in the community, a household must give
476 feasts and contribute to others' feasts. Contributions
574
262 consist mainly of appropriate livestock or other foods: pigs, chickens, lobsters, tinned beef, yams, watermelon --in sum, feast food. To some extent, services such as assistance in preparing and serving the feast can be

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7 For descriptions of ceremonial exchanges in Tonga, see Aoyagi (1966: 167-172), Beaglehole (1941: 91-98), and Collocott (1923: 221-225).

46· Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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574 These amounts reflect the relatively high standard of
511 living on Tongatapu in 1969-70; people living on the more remote islands, with restricted sources of income, would have less lavish pola.

592 According to my estimate, there were only five
574 households in Motulahi that could afford to sponsor a
476 feast without assistance. Yet almost every household in
[511] the village manages to host at least one feast every
[431] twelve to fifteen months. They are able to do so because they are assisted by contributions of food and labor from the households of a wide range of relatives and other

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[648] --the lū, and placing this in an outer wrapping of banana leaves and steaming it in the earth oven); 5 bundles of lū pulu māsima (lū with salt beef) and 8 bundles of other lū with assorted fillings of various seafoods; 3 large fish and 2 medium-sized fish (steamed whole in the earth oven), and 4 small fish (roasted over an open fire); 8 boiled chickens and 12 lobsters, also boiled; 23 bundles of faikakai (a steamed sweet pudding), 10 large yams and 11 large sweet potatoes, all cooked in the earth oven; and, to complete the pola, 10 drinking coconuts, 10 small dishes of various cold meats and fish, ripe plantains and bananas stuck wherever there was a gap too small to be filled with anything larger, 1½ 20-lb. watermelons cut in large serving slices, and three plates of sliced store-bought fruit cake. The only standard feast food not presented on the pola was bowls of fruit salad with icecream (omitted because the icecream would have melted before it could be served). It took eight men, each accustomed to carrying 50-lb. bunches of bananas, to carry the pola in triumph, shoulder high, to the waiting truck that would transport it to the feast site in Nuku'alofa. The pola was so magnificent that it was selected for presentation as one of five pola placed in the Royal enclosure The other pola in the Royal enclosure were prepared in the Palace kitchens.

associates whom they have assisted in the past. This is not to say that the household is considered to be the unit that makes the contributions, for contributions are viewed as coming from individuals. The household itself is the unit in feasting activities only when a member of the household is hosting the feast. Nevertheless, when a person makes contributions to a feast at another household, he does this with goods from the common pool of resources in his own household. The greater a household's participation as a contributor through the contributions of its members, the more assistance the household will receive when it comes time for a household member to act as host.

While a household is not expected to be self-sufficient when it comes to hosting a feast, it must be able, in one way or another, to provide for the other material needs of its members (i.e., everyday material requirements, periodic cash outlays, and the means of making adequate contributions on ceremonial occasions). To do so, however, the household must have the means of access either to the products of an agricultural allotment or to the income from some job, and preferably both. Without one or the other, no household in Tonga is viable (although it is true that there is less need for cash on the more remote islands, and less likelihood of access to a job away from Tongatapu).

In 1970, 42 households in Motulahi had no source of

cash income other than the production and preparation for sale of coconuts and/or copra. In other words, almost 30 percent of the households in the village had no-one in the household engaged in any income-producing activity besides the basic Tongan pattern of peasant production. Sources of household income in the other households are set out in Table 14. In these households there were a total of 54 government employees, both men and women, including 17 teachers and 5 clerks. Besides government employees, there were persons employed as laborers in various enterprises and others employed by the churches (generally as teachers in the church-run schools). In addition there were people in the village who had business enterprises of their own. Included in this were six stores in the village, two women who each kept a large flock of chickens and sold the eggs to the big stores in Nuku'alofa, there were three privately-owned sheds hired out for movies and dances or used as copra-weighing stations, two men owned trucks for hire, one man operated a dance band, a woman had a dress-making shop in Nuku'alofa, and so on. Other sources of income of people in Motulahi included the cultivation of watermelons (mainly for export to New Zealand) and the manufacture of handicrafts. Finally, the category "other activities" in Table 14 includes three fishermen, the local Town Officer (who receives a govern-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

592 ment stipend), a household composed of two Mormons
463 serving their period as "missionaries" away from their home village (supported by members of the local congregation), a lawyer, and a builder.

463 In many cases, the income-producing activities described above were not full-time occupations; a person might be engaged in more than one occupation or be engaged in different occupations at different times of the year. These elements make it difficult to classify the village
463 population in terms of occupation. This difficulty is
434 compounded by the fact that non-agricultural activities
592 were seldom the major source of household income. In most of the households in Motulahi, subsistence production and copra production were the mainstay of the household, while other income-producing activities served mainly to provide
592 a more or less regular flow of cash. On the other hand,
511 households without some source of supplementary cash
434 income had a noticeably lower standard of living. Among
[342] them, for example, there was a greater proportion of the old-style coconut-thatch houses and shabby old wooden houses (probably because households without supplementary sources of income found it difficult to save the relatively large amount of cash needed to build a new wooden or brick house).

592 The major part of the everyday cash requirements and
423

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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592 of some transactions. These details have been witheld to
423 preserve the anonymity of the people involved. However, in his excellent paper on Tongan land tenure, Maude (1971) discusses some of the practices associated with the sharing of land, including various forms of payment, and considers the implications of these practices.

Through arrangements such as the sharing of land, the subsistence requirements of the household are provided for in cases where no member of the household has control over an allotment that can be farmed while living in Motulahi. Indeed, one might almost say that there must be some such arrangement if the household is to be viable.
592 At least during the period that I was there, nobody in
432 Motulahi regularly bought the locally-produced staple vegetables that are available for purchase in Nuku'alofa. It would be far too expensive for most people to do so.
[554] And besides that, it is regarded as humiliating for a Tongan to have to buy vegetable produce, for it signifies that no-one holds them in sufficient regard to supply them with food or to provide them with access to the means
592 of obtaining it for themselves. If the household as a
511 whole does not have some means of access to the use of an agricultural allotment or if for some other reason members of the household are not able to farm (reasons such as age, infirmity, or being too occupied by other activities,

such as a job), then the household must be supplied by relatives or have some other arrangement. There were only two households in Motulahi with varying and uncertain arrangements for providing for the everyday material needs of their members, and the adult members of these households were held in contempt by many of the villagers.[9]

Dynamics of Household Composition

When a family group does not have access to an allotment, or to the subsistence foods that are the products of an allotment, it will inevitably join a family group that does have such access, forming a multiple-family household. Thus, despite individual registration of allotments, the organization of land tenure is much less individualistic than a reading of the land law of 1882 would suggest.[10]

Forty-nine multiple-family households were enumerated by me in 1970--that is, one third of the households in the village. Most of the family groups that comprised these households would not have been economically viable as independent households. In some cases, a member of one

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9 Further details are witheld to preserve the anonymity of those concerned in these instances.

10 For further discussion on this point, see Kaude (1971) and Nayacakalou (1959). Also see my paper on the evolution of the system of political authority in Tonga and its relation to the organization of land tenure and kinship at the local level (Decktor Korn 1976).

592 of the family groups provided the household with steady
596 cash income from a job. That family group might not have
511 had access to an agricultural allotment, but someone in another family group in the household did have such access. Together, they provided the economic basis for a viable household. In other cases, one family group in the household might have had control over an allotment while another family group supplied the labor to work it. This was especially true in some of the three-generation households, where the land was registered in the name of someone in the senior generation and the next generation provided the labor to work it. It is in these kinds of circumstances that the 'human capital' requirement of a household is apparent. This may also be the basis of other forms of household structure (see Table 13). For example, where a widow has control over her late husband's allotment but has no adult male in her family group who could help her work the land, the result may be a multiple-family household based on the sister-sister link between family groups.

596 592 554 [885] To be male or female head of a household carries with it recognition of fully adult status.[11] Hence, for

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11 The word "'ulu" (head or authority figure) is generally applied only to the head male, but the word "pule" (effective authority) is used in speaking of the respective roles of the male head and the female head. The division of authority between the male head and the

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
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> Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the expression of social relationships, social behaviour is not constrained by the prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their economic lives (1960:123).

The resources available to the Tongan household must be sufficient to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions of goods and labor on ceremonial occasions.

The everyday material needs of a household consist mainly of foodstuffs and fuel, along with petty cash for such items as bus fares, matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally cultivated subsistence products. (There must, of course, be labor available to prepare and make use of these products, hence the need for human capital). Everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread, flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and dried milk. The frequency and amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how much cash is available.

A household must also have the cash for periodic outlays to pay members' expenses, such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every male over the age of 15, church contributions, and schooling expenses for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing and fabric, household utensils, and other implements. Such purchases and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays, which are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly before it is needed. Men collect coconuts and make copra or else sell the coconuts directly to the Tonga Copra Board, while women prepare handicrafts for sale to tourists. There is noticeably more copra-making activity and also a well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand, with whatever is left being doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

Finally, a household must have the means for its members to make adequate contributions of goods and labor on a wide range of ceremonial occasions that occur at irregular intervals throughout the year: feasts, funerals, weddings, and so forth. There is a class of goods called *koloa* ("treasure") that come into play only on ceremonial occasions; these consist mainly of finely woven mats of various kinds (*kie, fihu,* and *ngafingafi*) and printed tapa-cloth (*ngatu*). *Koloa,* which is amassed through manufacture by women of the household or through

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
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village had no one engaged in any income-producing activity besides the basic Tongan pattern of peasant production. In the remaining households, there were a total of 54 government employees, both men and women, almost all of whom worked in the main town. In addition, there were persons employed outside government (mainly as laborers in various enterprises), or by one of the churches (usually as teachers in a church-run school). Besides people with jobs, there were people in the village who had business enterprises of their own. Included in this were six stores in the village, two women kept large flocks of chickens and sold the eggs to the big stores in the main town, there were three privately owned sheds that were hired for movies and dances or used as copra-weighing stations, two men owned trucks for hire, one man operated a band, a woman had a dress-making shop in town, and so on. Other income-producing activities of people in the village included the cultivation of watermelons (mainly for export to New Zealand) and the manufacture of handicrafts.

In many cases, the income-producing activities described here were not full-time occupations, nor were they the major source of income for the household. In most of the households in the village, subsistence production and copra production are the mainstay of the household, while other income-producing activities serve mainly to provide a more or less steady flow of cash. On the other hand, households with no source of supplementary income enjoy a noticeably lower standard of living. Among these, for example, there is a greater proportion of the old-style, coconut-thatch houses or old and shabby wooden houses—people without supplemental sources of cash income find it more difficult to obtain the large amount of cash needed to build a new wooden or brick house.

The major part of the everyday cash requirements and other material needs of a household are provided for if the household has access to an agricultural allotment (*'api 'uta*). Although this is not the place to describe the Tongan system of land tenure in any detail,[11] the following notes will suffice to indicate the major elements involved in a household's having access to an allotment. In theory, every male over the age of 15 is entitled to an agricultural allotment of 8¼ acres registered in his name. In practice, however, about 60% of all who are eligible do *not* have land in their names (largely because of shortages stemming from the pressure of increasing population). Some men, on the other hand, have effective control over more than one allotment,

11 For articles dealing with the system of land tenure, see Maude (1972) and Nayacakalou (1959). In addition, refer to Rogers (1969) for a discussion of the *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census* (Fiefia 1968) that focuses on the findings relating to population increase and its effects on land holding.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
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available for purchase in the main town. In the first place, it would be far too expensive for most people to do so. And besides that, it is regarded as demeaning for a Tongan to have to buy vegetable produce, for it signifies that no one holds them in sufficient regard to supply them with food or to provide them with access to the means of obtaining it for themselves. If the members of a household do not have some means of access to the use of an agricultural allotment, or if for other reasons they are not able to farm (because of, for example, age, infirmity, or being too occupied with other activities, such as a job), they must either be supplied by relatives or have some other arrangement (short of buying their food in town). There were only two households in Motulahi with varying and uncertain arrangements for providing for the everyday material needs of household members, and, it should be noted, the adult members of these households were held in contempt by many of the villagers.

DETERMINANTS OF HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

When a family group does not have access to an allotment or to the subsistence foods that are the products of an allotment, it will inevitably join a family unit that does have such access, forming a multiple-family household. In 1970, there were 49 multiple-family households in Motulahi, or one-third of the households in the village. Most of the family units that comprised these households would not be economically viable as independent households. In some cases, a member of one of the family units provided the household with a steady cash income from a job. That person might not have access in his/her own right to an agricultural allotment, but someone in another family unit in the household did have such access. Together, they provided the economic basis for a viable household. In other cases, one family unit in the household may have control over an allotment, while the other family unit supplied the labor to work it. This was especially true in some of the three-generation households, where the land was registered in the name of someone in the senior generation, and the next generation provided the labor to work it. It may also be the basis of other types of household—for example, where a widow has control over her late husband's allotment but has no adult male in her family group who

sharing the use of the *'api* of others or by using the *'api* of those who are away from the village. . . . Of the 19 households that share the use of the *'api* of others in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 5 have no relatives in the village (1959:109).

Maude (1972:119-120) also discusses practices relating to the sharing of land. For a systematic account of which persons are likely to provide this form of assistance, see Decktor Korn (1974:10)

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 0U9 Tonga 0U9

REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF THE 1966 CENSUS

Of the 20,766 Tongan males over fifteen, 17,686 or 85.17% were listed as being employed in some "industry". 13,219 or 74.74% of these were recorded as being self-employed in "agricultural production for household consumption and export". This represents a rise over ten years of 3,483 persons or 35.77% in this category, but unfortunately the category includes all those without regular or specific occupation, that is, no attempt was made in the 1966 census to differentiate self-employed from unemployed, nor those with title to land from those who have no title but are growing subsistence crops on someone else's land; it is difficult therefore to quantify pressures on land and the *'api* system.

* * *

The Tonga land tenure system is unique in Polynesia and is the result of laws enacted over a hundred years ago by the founder of modern Tonga, King George Tupou I. Every male Tongan is entitled, on reaching the age of sixteen years, to receive a grant of eight and a quarter acres as an *'api tukuhau* 'tax allotment', and a grant of up to one rood twenty-four perches in a village or town as an *'api kolo* 'town allotment'. No one may legally hold more than one tax and one village allotment, but if a person forgoes the latter he may obtain under the law, a bush lot of up to twelve and three-eighths acres, that is, one and a half times the usual size of an *'api tukuhau*. The annual tax on tax and village allotments together is eighty *seniti* (NZ80c); tenure is for life and is usually reallocated to the eldest son.[8] These laws have created a nation of small but secure tenant farmers alongside a landed aristocracy. The head of every family or household in Tonga, irrespective of his rank or wealth, has thus until very recently been assured of the means of production both of basic necessities such as food and housing, and of cash crops both for purchasing clothing, tools, household goods, and for education. With shortage of land, and the strain traditional housing puts on coconut trees, housing is passing from subsistence to the monetary economy.

According to the Report of the Lands and Survey Department for 1966 (p. 2), the total number of tax allotment holders in December of that year was 12,517. The 1966 census records that only 8,305 or 41.57% of all Tongan males over sixteen said that they were holding tax allotments, whilst 11,553 or 57.84% reported that they held no land (p. 96). Some 116 men over sixteen did not state their position regarding land but even if they all had held tax allotments, 4,096 of the allotment-holders recorded in the Report of the Lands and Survey Department would remain unaccounted for. However, some of the Lands and Survey allotment-holders would undoubtedly be widows holding their husband's allotments as a life interest,[10] or the sole surviving daughters of the deceased land holder.[11] The number of widows recorded in the 1966 census was 1,552 but it is not stated how many of them were holding the lands of their

301 males), in services 539 (compared with 737 males), professional, technical and related workers 321 (compared with 412 males).

9. TONGA, 1948:405–459. "The Land Act". Annual poll tax, $T3.20, is paid by all adult Tongan males, whether landholders or not.
10. TONGA 1948:427–8.
11. TONGA 1948:428.

362 Since these are also the best endowed areas for 'api tukuhau, the recent migrant is likely to build in indigenous material while those in paid employment can afford and are likely to build a house entirely of imported materials. Table V demonstrates that 43 per cent of those household heads living in houses constructed of composite materials and 53 per cent of those living in houses constructed of indigenous materials were employed in agriculture. Furthermore, of those living in composite housing only 30 per cent had been born outside Tongatapu.

[369] The overall design, internal and external arrangements of these houses differ little from those of the countryside and this again demonstrates the persistence of traditional modes of life within the town. Many houses adhere to the traditional apsidal or oval floor plan but even those with non-traditional rectangular floor plans are arranged to meet the flexible demands of sleep and entertainment. [593] Adolescent boys have a separate sleeping hut in keeping with the [343] traditional practice of brother-sister avoidance. Living, eating, [171] cooking and washing activities take place in separate buildings in keeping with practices traditional to much of Polynesia.

511 Tongans living in houses of composite materials have more 184 copra driers on their 'api kolo, clear evidence of their active involvement in agriculture. They own more horses and carts, buy less [264] imported food than those living in large wooden houses. They are more likely to follow the rural practice of eating two and not three meals a day (see Table VI). Their women folk are more involved in the making of tapa in the kautaha koko'anga, in making other Tongan handicrafts, and are active in attendance at the fale hiva or choir house of the local church.

443 A town's bazaar sector, labour intensive and family directed, [369] is considered by some students of Asian cities to bear at least close resemblance to and have close links with the rural peasantry and therefore deserves some brief mention here. The bazaar sector in [433] Nuku'alofa is not well developed. This is because the Tongan economy itself is underdeveloped, consequently offering fewer opportunities. The main activities in the bazaar sector are small-scale trading from single room shops which sell at prices slightly in excess of the European firms from where they have purchased their goods; the hawking of handicraft goods mainly to tourists; and the sale of primary produce such as ground foods, kava, Tongan oil and shellfish. 443 In some cases the people involved are middlemen acting for villagers, 441 and one group, the fakafefine, have some form of loose cooperation which cuts across kin affiliations. The fakafefine (the word means "like a woman") work in teams, each team jealously guarding its round of customers. Some have groups of women manufacturing the articles they sell and most have trading arrangements beyond Nuku'alofa and

Table VI

Tongatapu

Diet, Possessions and Club Attendance

	House Types				
	Large Wooden %	Small Wooden %	Indigenous %	Composite %	Average
Diet					
Three meals daily	75	52	28	43	44.5
Buy Imported food	56	31	31	40	35.4
Possessions					
Two or more beds	100	55	12	27	42.4
Motorised vehicle	44	17	0	7	14.2
Horse or Cart	38	38	34	67	43.5
Club Attendance					
Fale Hiva	69	52	53	60	56.6
Fale Kava	31	66	44	50	49.5
Fale Koko'anga	19	28	41	57	38.4
Total Households	16	29	32	30	107

Source: Household Questionnaire

Notes: The answers on diet refer to activities occurring at least three times weekly; those on club attendance involved at least one person in the household. Both types of wooden house correspond with "exotic"; the information on the larger houses is included for later discussion.

sometimes beyond Tonga. The fakafefine, however, are not typical. The unit of organisation (for most Tongans involved in the bazaar sector) is the family or people of the immediate neighbourhood. Rarely does involvement in the bazaar provide the sole or main source of income for the families concerned. It provides work and income for some members of the family while others are involved in agriculture and paid employment. Participation in these three areas of economic activity involve the total labour force of the family and ensure its greatest chance of economic well-being. Nevertheless, the bazaar sector in Nuku'alofa seems likely to expand as more wealth enters the kingdom and the indigenous market expands.[24]

nuku'alofa: readapted or transformed?

McGee has suggested that "Some folk societies ... are

readapted rather than transformed."[25] The point is re-emphasised by Franklin who views peasant society as a "residual system" within a larger capitalist economy and points to the resilience of the peasantry.[26] Gundar Frank introduces a new dimension which, if accepted, points to a prolonged existence for peasant societies and systems. He suggests that underdevelopment in some countries is the obverse of development in others, both being part of a "single process of capitalist development".[27] The modern commentator often finds difficulty in accepting that non-western societies may not choose western forms in the final working out of their urban and rural futures but, if we accept Frank's views, the peasantry appear to have an assured future in underdeveloped countries. Franklin's observation that the peasantry shows remarkable resilience in adverse conditions typical of underdeveloped countries seems to support this. Both writers would appear to agree that the increased penetration of capitalism does not necessarily eliminate peasant systems of production—or, presumably, peasant-like attitudes within the broader society. At this point it would therefore seem appropriate to consider those reasonably well-off families living in Nuku'alofa (those living in "large wooden" houses (see Table VI)) whose paid employment makes them independent of a supplementary income from agriculture and who, for purely economic reasons, would do better by opting out of kin obligations.

How far have these urbanised and often superficially westernised families rejected activities common to others in the town? They are by definition less involved in the peasant economic system but they remain very much a part of the traditional society. All attitudes to important events in the life cycle, such as birth, the celebration of the first birthday, circumcision, courtship, marriage and death, are retained. Their attitudes towards the organisation of society, the hierarchy of king, nobles, church, family and authority generally, are also retained. The physical organisation of their houses is the same in spite of a greater abundance of western articles and furniture. It is not uncommon, for example, for beds to be used for the storage of special mats while the people sleep on the floor. In one case the adults slept on mats in a traditional fale leaving the comforts of their modern house for the convenience of others. Sleeping, eating, cooking and washing units are kept apart, kava remains an important ceremonial and social drink, the stone umu is still used, tapa and mats remain symbols of wealth and prestige and the wearing of the ta'ovala and kiekie remain as signs of the well dressed. Participation in the kautaha koko'anga is less evident but these families are keen recipients of "gifts" made by such activities. They are actively involved in the fale hiva which, in this respect, is a rallying point for established and status conscious families. The closer these people become to the apex of society, the more committed

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

short-term subsistence crops, even in densely populated areas, and although many villagers claim that it has become more difficult in recent years it is hard, if not impossible, to find a rural family short of food simply because they cannot borrow enough land for gardening. When land is borrowed from a relative no direct payment is usually made, but in borrowing from others it is customary to give a small part of the crop to the landholder. Although it is illegal, there appear

Table 7.3 Cash-crop income and area of land held by household, Tongatapu, 1961

	Land held by household		
	No land	*1 allotment (2·7–3·8 ha)*	*2 allotments (6·3–7·4 ha)*
Number of households	31	59	17
Mean cash-crop income ($A)			
per capita	18·4	36·4	36·4
per adult male (aged 16 and over)	69·8	157·6	152·8

to be a growing number of cases in which a cash payment is made for the use of land.

Obtaining the use of land for cash cropping is more difficult. The demand for such land has increased with the growth of the population and the greater commercialization of Tongan agriculture, while in Tongatapu, where the demand is greatest, the amount of spare land has decreased markedly in the last decade as a result of the allocation of allotments in the eastern half of the island, and an increase in banana planting by landholders in response to the improved market in New Zealand. Furthermore, the customary obligation to assist relatives and others, evolved in a society with a subsistence economy, applies less strongly to the rather different conditions of commercial agriculture. Men borrowing land are increasingly having to pay a cash rental. While some of the large-scale banana growers, and market gardeners who can afford to pay such rents and to contribute food crops and pigs to the landholder or estate-holder, still have little difficulty, the ordinary landless

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

villager finds land borrowing for cash production an increasing problem. Land cannot be borrowed for planting coconuts, which rank about equal with bananas as a cash crop, and palms on an allotment are the property of the landholder, regardless of who planted them. A common practice for those without land is to obtain permission to collect one or two cartloads of coconuts for copra-making from the allotment of a relative or close friend, and for this no return is given. Another arrangement found, especially between non-relatives and where the landholder is absent, is for the cash received for the copra to be shared half-and-half.

The effect of landholding on cash-crop incomes is shown in Table 7.3, which presents data from the household survey of four Tongatapu villages mentioned in an earlier section. The inability of the social system and its customary obligations to even out inequalities in landholding is shown in the fact that households without land had only half the income per capita or per adult male of households with a full-sized allotment. On the other hand households with two allotments did not have higher incomes per head than single-allotment households, for although total income was higher these households were larger and had more adult males.*

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this discussion is that the present land-tenure system, although it cannot provide land for every household, is still able to cope with the subsistence needs of the people, but is less able to cope with the rising demand for land for cash cropping. The increasing difficulty of borrowing land for growing cash crops and the trend towards the payment of rentals for land both point to pressure within the system. This pressure, however, is as much the result of the growing commercialization of Tongan agriculture as of population increase alone.

THE AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM

Tongan agriculture is based on a bush fallowing system† for the cultivation of tubers, the main food crops being yams, taro, cassava, sweet potato, bananas and plantains. After clearing and burning, a plot is cropped for two to about five years and then bush fallowed for

[128]

* The number of households in the survey with allotments smaller than 2·7 ha was too few for useful analysis.

† The term 'bush fallowing' is here used to describe a form of shifting cultivation in which the fallow period is short.

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

deterioration in the fallow vegetation, with an increase in the proportion of grasses and other herbaceous plants and the spread of lantana (*Lantana camara*) and guava (*Psidium guajava*), and weeds have become much more of a problem for farmers than in the past. It is also widely believed that soil fertility in Ha'apai has declined over the last few decades. This belief is partially supported by the results of chemical analyses of Tongan soils. Ha'apai soils should be very similar in composition to those of Tongatapu, as parent materials, relief and climate are much the same throughout the two groups, but analysis of a number of soil samples suggests that they have much lower levels of available potassium. Chemical analysis by itself, however, is not a completely reliable guide, and there have been no yield measurements or fertilizer trials which could provide further evidence on soil differences. The comments of farmers, on the other hand, indicate that there has certainly been no serious decline in soil fertility, for satisfactory yields are still obtained despite the intensity of the agricultural system.*

An economic assessment

Assessment of the effect of high population density on the level of living supported by the agricultural system is more difficult, because the level of living is influenced by a large number of variables apart from population density, and data that might be useful in such an assessment are limited. As far as food production is concerned there is no evidence to suggest that people in rural areas of high population density have a diet poorer in quantity or quality than that found elsewhere in Tonga; the worst nutritional problems are in fact in the towns. Production per head appears to have been maintained by the increased frequency of cropping and the change to higher-yield tubers, and any deficiencies which might result from a high consumption of protein-poor cassava are probably balanced by a high consumption of seafoods. Measurement of food gardens in three villages in Ha'apai and Tongatapu showed no relationship between population density and per capita garden area.

Analysis of the *per capita* levels of production of copra and bananas,

* For a fuller discussion see Maude (1970). The only effect of intense cultivation on Tongatapu soils noted by H. S. Gibbs in a paper presented to the 1971 Pacific Science Congress is a possible increase in iron nodules in areas of frequent clean cultivation. Such a change, if present, would tend to lower soil productivity by decreasing the friability of the soil.

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

on the other hand, suggests that cash-crop incomes tend to be lower in areas of high population density than elsewhere. Data for banana production in rural Tongatapu in 1966, for instance, shows that while there was no relationship between population density and *per capita* production when densities were less than 200/km², in the one area of higher population density production per head fell to 55 per cent of the mean, suggesting that at this level of density land becomes a more important limiting factor in production than labour. A similar analysis of *per capita* copra income within Ha'apai in 1956 (Table 7.4) again suggests some inverse relationship between population density and income per head, but the trend shown is not

Table 7.4 Population density and *per capita* copra income, Ha'apai, 1956 (*Source:* Records of the Tonga Copra Board)

Persons/km²	*Copra income* per capita ($A)
80–149	58·4
150–229	51·2
230–309	39·6
310–379	45·0

uniform and the co-efficient of correlation between the two variables is only −0·36. For Tongatapu this type of analysis is not possible, as the variables determining the level of copra production are not sufficiently uniform throughout the island, but data from the household survey for three villages which are comparable show a clear inverse relationship between *per capita* income and population density (Table 7.5).

Table 7.5 Population density and *per capita* copra income, three Tongatapu villages. 1961 (*Source:* Records of the Tonga Copra Board)

Village	*Persons/km²*	*Copra income* per capita ($A)
Niutoua	70	37·4
Ha'akame	150	29·2
Ha'avakatolo	178	22·0

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

The above evidence points tentatively to mild symptoms of economic stress in areas of high population density. Land appears to have become a limiting factor in production given the present level of agricultural technology, but at population densities which vary according to the crop; the population density at which *per capita* banana production begins to decline, for instance, is higher than that at which *per capita* copra production is affected, because bananas are a less land-extensive crop. Much more research, including studies of nutrition, is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.

POPULATION PRESSURE: PERCEPTION AND RESPONSE

To what extent are the pressures described in the last two sections consciously felt by Tongans living in areas of high population density? An attempt was made during field-work in western Tongatapu, Ha'apai and eastern Vava'u to ascertain the degree to which people felt hardship as a result of the shortage of land, concentrating in particular on married men without allotments as these were likely to suffer the most. We recall that even in densely-settled areas most men without allotments found it fairly easy to borrow land for cash cropping or collecting coconuts for copra-making. Yet only a small proportion of the men interviewed seemed to feel any hardship, all of these being men with large families to support, and most considered their income sufficient for their essential needs. About 30 men were asked what they would do with $A 1,000 if it were given to them; only one replied that he would spend it on food and other necessities, the rest stating housing or education for their children.

However, the degree to which population pressure is felt is better determined by what men do than by what they say. There are a number of possible reactions to population pressure, but only one of these, migration, is really significant in Tonga. In land tenure, for instance, there has as yet been no trend towards subdivision of allotments, even though this is not prohibited should the legal heir to the land be willing, and land disputes are rare. The only response by those in control of land matters, the Government and the chiefs, to the problems brought by population growth has been a belated effort to complete the survey and allocation of allotments. In agriculture there has been a steady intensification of the system and a

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

The pattern of internal migration, however, shows more sensitive response to population pressure, particularly in Ha'apai. The basic reason for migration in Tonga is the lack of opportunities to earn money in the outer islands as compared with Tongatapu, but the influence of land shortage is indicated by the fact that, within Ha'apai, population growth between 1956 and 1966 in each island tended to be inversely proportional to the 1956 population density (Fig. 7.2). The three islands which lie furthest from the general trend (circled in Fig. 7.2) all have residents who utilize land on the nearby high island of Tofua, and their effective population densities are therefore lower than those shown. It may be hypothesized that the higher the population density the harder it is for men, particularly those without their own allotments, to achieve a satisfactory cash-crop income, and in Ha'apai this problem is made greater by the fact that until recently cash cropping was largely restricted to coconuts, while opportunities for wage employment in the group have always been very limited. Of 20 cases of migration collected in Holopeka (Ha'apai), for instance, 18 were men without allotments, and 11 of these had left their village at least partly in the hope of obtaining land. That landlessness is not the only reason for migration, however, is shown in the fact noted earlier that those who had left Ha'afeva (Ha'apai) in 1966 included nearly half the men who already held land on the island. Employment following education on the main island, dissatisfaction with village life, a desire to take advantage of the better opportunities to earn money in Tongatapu or to ensure a better education for one's children are all important reasons for movement, while in Vava'u the damage caused to the economy by the 1961 hurricane seems to have been the major determinant of migration from that group in the early 1960s. Nevertheless, the pattern of migration from Ha'apai outlined earlier does demonstrate the significance of land shortage as a factor, and suggests that population pressure is sufficiently felt by many Tongans to stimulate them to leave their home village.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding sections we have examined a number of facets of the man/land system in Tonga. Symptoms of stress or pressure were found in land problems, the fallow vegetation, the nutrient status of the soil, cash-crop incomes and internal migration, and these point

70: Skinner A-5 (1965) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u

FRAGMENT OF A CARVED BOX FROM VAVA'U

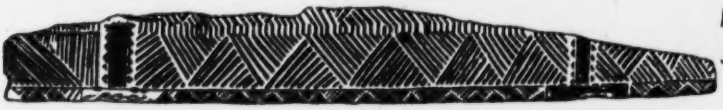
H. D. Skinner

In Vava'u in October, 1965, Tufua 'Utoikamanu showed me a number of pieces illustrating material culture of earlier times. Among them was a fragment about 48 inches long of a carved rectangular box made of breadfruit wood. She told me she had received it as a gift from her father, Fekaleaki 'Utoikamanu, who stated that he had secured it at Tu' anikivale, Vava'u. When complete it had been used to hold arrows (*nga hau*). Tufua believes the surface shown is the side of the box, but it seemed to me to be part of the bottom. Along one edge of the side it has two chisel-cut holes. It would appear that through these holes passed the cords attaching lid to body. Fekaleaki said he had intervened to preserve the fragment when the box had been carelessly mishandled. The decorative motive represents interlacing series of cords or braids, a motive frequently present in the decorative pattern of Tongan war clubs. This same motive is present also in Tongan stone work.(1) The box appears to be related to the Maori treasure-boxes often loosely called *waka-huia*.

Fekaleaki stated that many years ago his nephew told him he had been present when a body was being moved from an ancient grave. When the dressed stone slabs enclosing the grave were moved a wooden box was seen enclosing bones and hair. The coffin was decorated precisely in the style of the box here figured.(2) When exposed to outside air the coffin crumbled to dust. The human hair and the bones were wrapped in fresh mats and were buried in a new grave.

REFERENCE

McKern, W. C., 1929. *Archaeology of Tonga.* Honolulu, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 60.



1. McKern 1929: Plate IIIC. "Incised decorations on stone of the Langi Katoa, Mua, Tongatabu". Stone on right has pattern identical with that on box fragment.
2. The line drawing is by K. M. Peters.

[431 cont.]

175 cultivated, complicated, and elegant than at the Society Islands.
171 But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Taheitians
[181] seemed to be much greater. We saw but few hogs and fowls here, and
[433] that great support of life, the bread-tree, appeared to be very
[231] scarce. Yams, therefore, and other roots, together with bananas,
[262] are their principal articles of diet. Their cloathing too, compared
[291] to that of Taheitee, was less plentiful, or at least not converted
[342] into such an article of luxury as at that island. Lastly, their
[351] houses, though neatly constructed, and always [432] placed in a
175 fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient. We made these
171 reflections as we advanced towards the landing place, where several
511 hundred natives were assembled; and their appearance immediately
struck us with the idea, that if they did not enjoy so great a
profusion of the gifts of nature as the Taheitians, those gifts
175 were perhaps distributed to all with greater equality. We advanced
609 among them, and were accosted with caresses by old and young, by men
201 and women. They hugged us very heartily, and frequently kissed our
hands, laying them on their breast, with the most expressive looks
175 of affection that can be imagined. The general stature of the men
141 was equal to our middle size, from five feet three to five feet ten
175 inches. The proportions of the body were very fine, and the contours
142 of the limbs extremely elegant, though something more muscular than
at Taheitee, which may be owing to a greater and more constant exertion
of strength in their agriculture and oeconomy. Their features were
extremely mild and pleasing, and differed from the Taheitian faces,
in being more oblong than round; the nose sharper, and the lips rather
[302] thinner. Their hair was generally black and strongly curled, and
[237]

[187 cont.]

197 flowers of all kinds, many of which filled the air with fragrance.
175 The variety of scenes formed by many little risings, and different groups of houses and trees, together with the lagoons, conspire to
511 adorn this island. The fowls and hogs which we saw in the
175 neighbourhood of every dwelling, the prodigious number of shaddocks which lay under every tree, hardly noticed by the natives, and the quantities of yams which filled their houses, gave a picture of abundance and affluence which delighted the eye and comforted the heart.
000 At sight of plenteous prospect, [188] human nature feels an instinctive satisfaction, and good humour and joy are soon revived in the most dejected breast. Amidst the dismal scenes of our voyage, these intervening moments are remarkably contrasted, and therefore had a great effect upon us. It is so natural to dwell upon pleasing subjects, that I hope, I need not apologize for my frequent descriptions; and I must refer the reader to Mr. Hodges's view in the interior parts of Namoka, which will give an idea of a farm in that island. It is engraved and inserted in captain Cook's account of this voyage.

184 The natives, who were happy enough to call these fertile groves
175 their own, did not appear to me to differ in any respect from those
142 of Tonga-Tabboo, and Ea-oowhe. Their stature was middle-sized, their
141 colour a bright chesnut brown, and their whole body well proportioned,
175 without being corpulent. Their punctures, their dress, the customs
184 of clipping the beard, and powdering the hair, their arms, utensils, and
175 canoes, their language and manners were exactly such as we had noticed
554 at Tonga-Tabboo. But in the short time which we staid on their island,
173 we could not observe any subordination among them, though this had strongly characterised the natives of Tonga-Tabboo, who seemed to

434 [459] Wage labor and gifts of money from kinsmen working overseas also contribute substantially to money income.

434 463 464 An examination of income data from twenty Puke households indicates that the economic strategy followed by Tongan peasants is security through diversity (Tables 12 and 13).[A] Occupational specialization is usually impractical as most income sources available are affected by [258] critically-fluctuating market conditions. As an example, the buying of mature coconuts for processing into desiccated coconut sometimes ceases completely so that a grower relying upon this market suffers periods of no income. Over time reliances on various income sources also vary considerably so that a man may do wage labor for a short time until he is fired or the job terminates, and then may fish or make copra if those activities are profitable.

592 434 439 In most households women and children, particularly girls, contribute substantially to household income by producing basketry, bark cloth, shell jewelry, and other handicrafts. These items are sold directly to tourists in Nuku'alofa or less frequently to exporters. Women also occasionally assist their husbands in gardening and fishing.

592 462

Cash Expenditure: The Spheres of Obligation

434 511 Tongans generally view cash income as a necessity for meeting three types of obligations: obligation to support one's church (kavenga faka-siasi), obligation to educate one's children (kavenga faka'ako), and obligation to support the members of one's household (kavenga faka'api). Ideally, only after these obligations have been met can an individual

[A] [See pp. 78-77--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 78]

434 511 spend money on entertainment, luxury items, or even investment. This concept of obligations provides some insight into how Tongans emphasize certain aspects of their life. The obligations themselves are ranked with education being first in importance, church support following closely, and household obligation being a definite least in importance. These spheres of obligation are expected to approximate an individual's income so that if he increases his wealth he increases his obligations accordingly. Relatively, wealthy persons who do not accept this paradigm and spend "too much" on Western luxury items, housing, cars and entertainment become the subject of social censure through gossip (lau).

511 From sample A, I obtained information on cash expenditure for twenty households; each household contributed information for five days. Table 14 presents items purchased for each household by amounts spent. The most money in descending order was spent in the categories of fresh meat, bread and crackers, and tobacco products. The bulk of the fresh meat purchase is mutton breast flaps which are actually shipped frozen from New Zealand. The price per pound is 16 cents for which one receives about 4 ounces of meat, 5 ounces of gristle, and 8 ounces of bone. Villagers use it primarily as an ingredient for a thick curry soup. The high expenditure on bread for the period is not indicative of normal expenditure for this product but the total was inflated by a single $5.00 expenditure occasioned by a funeral. The bread was required to feed those in attendance.

It can be noted from the table that few expenditures are made for durable or semi-durable goods. The category of "other" contains a few

A. [See p. 79--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

TABLE 14

Items Purchased by Twenty Households for Five-Day Period

Household Number	Flour	Sugar	Salt	Fresh Vegetables	Fresh Meat	Fresh Fish	Tinned Fish	Tobacco	Kerosene	Bread and Crackers	Other	Cloth, Thread and Clothing	Soap and Bleach	Sweets	Curry Powder	Milk	Total
1	.80	.30			1.12			1.41		.60	.10						$T 4.33
2	.27	.22			.30	.90		.34	.10	.54		.25	.20				3.12
3	.05	.10			.17			.20	.09	.40			.20				1.21
4		.12	.05	.05	.70			.63	.10	.80	.10			.04			2.59
5	.40	.12			1.36			.57		.38	.17	.10		.24	.08	.25	3.67
6		.05			.66	.10		.16		.30	.10						1.37
7		.30			.51	.30	.28	.10	.15	.38			.05				2.07
8		.28	.05	.10	1.20			.92	.20	.10	1.55		.35	.73			5.48
9	.21	.21	.05		1.60	1.00		.37	.	.15		.10			.03		3.72
10	.27	.12				.75		.23	.35		.62		.15	.02			2.51
11		.10	.05			.10		.30	.05		.30	.50					1.40
12						.10		.76	.20		.23		.23				1.52
13		.12			.51	.50		.62	.10				.05				1.90
14	.16	.12	.03		.68	.10		.25		5.00			.10		.05		6.49
15		.20			3.00			.52	.10	.60	3.00						7.42
16						1.10											1.10
17	.47	.50						.56		1.00			.10				2.63
18				1.40	.51			.57	.10		.20		.05	.20			3.03
19				.55	.96	.20		.57			.03						2.31
20		.11						.12			.05						.28
Total	$T2.63	2.97	.23	2.10	13.28	5.15	.28	9.20	1.54	10.25	6.45	.95	1.48	1.23	.16	.25	$T58.15

511

511 durable items which are mostly cooking utensils and tools.

794 511 (127) From church records I was able to obtain the exact amount contributed at the time of the annual church collection (misinale) by households. This information is presented in Table 15 but represents only a fraction of the total given during the year. A Although the annual collection represents the single largest donation for each year, smaller collections are taken at other times. During the annual collection church members also contribute goods, mostly storable vegetables, but I was not able to obtain information on these contributions.

794 592 626 511 Church contributions are made publicly in the Sunday services. The name of each household head is called, and a representative of that household steps to the front of the church and lays the contribution on a table which is in view of all present. This procedure results in almost everyone having knowledge about how much everyone else contributes. (554) A great deal of prestige is attached both to the act of giving and to giving large amounts.

434 511 Most physical needs of the Tongan peasant are met through his own efforts at cultivation, fishing, and collecting. Cash is only a small part of family income and is used to purchase goods and services which (891) (794) cannot be secured through traditional means. For instance, the expenses of education and church support can only be paid for with cash.[1] B A

The Village Store

443 From the information I could obtain the first store in Puke was built in about 1908 by one of the villagers; then in 1912 a European

A [See p. 81--Analyst] B [For footnote, see p. 123--Analyst]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

794
511

TABLE 15

Annual Church Contribution 1970

Amount of Contribution	Number of Households
$T1.00-5.00	23
6.00-10.00	15
11.00-15.00	2
16.00-20.00	0
21.00-25.00	1
80.00	1
	42

NOTES (Continued)

Chapter V

871 511 434 [1]Most schools in Tonga are parochial schools; however, school fees are paid for each child in all schools. Parents must also pay for school uniforms and some school supplies. The total amount varies considerably depending on the school, but between $T15.00 and $T25.00 a year per child is usually required.

Chapter VI

597 858 121 [1]While children are important resources and there is an economic dimension present in adoption transactions, that was not the focus of my analysis of adoption. Rather, I attempted to focus on the social and psychological aspects of adoption which are the dimensions emphasized by Tongans.

/203 cont./

245 the same throughout the year, since the months in which more nuts fall
433 (summer) they are usually not all gathered, whereas in the periods of
rather more scarcity (winter and the dry seasons) the natives seem
245 concerned about every nut. On a plantation of 8¼ acres an average of
433 approximately two tons of copra may be produced in a year; since the
434 price paid by the Copra Board for A-quality was, for example, 62 £T.
[435] per ton in 1952, the owner of such a plantation was able to earn
about 124 £T. (or about 1170 German marks) that year for his copra, if
he delivered the best quality. The plantations that are available to
individual families, however, differ in size, (528)

528. See p. 173 ff.

so that the profit in terms of money from copra production fluctuates very much among individual households, and at present amounts to perhaps 30 and 300 £T. annually. (529)

529. In 1952 in the Vava'u group, for instance, every household made an average of 170 £T.

245 Moreover, the price of copra constantly rises and falls on the world
435 market, (530)
458
434

530. Before the second World War the price paid for one ton of copra in Tonga dropped to 4 £T.

so that the Tongans, with their heavy dependence on copra production as their most important source of money, have experienced "rich" and "poor" periods during the past decades. Nonetheless, with the money
439 they receive for their copra production the natives are able to buy
197 various imported goods which contribute in some respects to a change
511 in their material culture as compared with the past. Most of these goods are not vitally necessary for the islanders, for today all Tongans can still support themselves solely by means of their agriculture (along with their fishing and domestic animal raising). Since the quantities of bark cloth and mats that were made in the

511 /203 cont./ Since the quantities of bark cloth and mats that were made in the
439 Archipelago have long since ceased to be used for clothing, as a re-
177 sult of European influence, but only for the sleeping places and
29 for festive occasions, the natives are obliged to buy fabric for
65 clothing or readymade clothing; (531)
794

531. See chapter on "Clothing," p. 67.

they must also pay the relatively low taxes and make substantial
511 contributions to churches. Aside from that, all money--and this is,
439 as a rule, the larger part of the proceeds from their copra work--
177 /204/ is used to buy supplementary European amenities. Among these
are, first of all foodstuffs such as canned meat and fish, flour, sugar,
etc., luxuries, above all tobacco, furthermore household objects such
as lamps (including oil), dishes, bowls and pots, equipment, raw
material and tools for building, fishing and woodworking, and finally
things which for the Tongans are definite luxury articles, such as
bicycles and cabinet-type sewing machines, perfume and powder.

245 Thus copra production has exerted a certain influence on the
434 daily life of the Tongans. The whole family takes part in this work--
[592] at any rate, in some phases of it; the men devote many hours of the
[461] year to it. The money they make with this activity is largely con-
[439] verted into goods that change the external picture of Tongan culture--
[177] from clothing and food to house-building and household goods; money
and goods also affect the character of the people and their inter-
relations--though up to now only to a slight extent. (532)

532. See pp. 17-22, 29-31.

[439] For the Tongans state the duty on the export of copra and the import
of goods that results from this is the most substantial source of
income. (533)

533. See Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for
the years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/.
London, 1952. p. 8/9. Copra export rose to

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1:78 OU9 Tonga OU9

423 subleasing is common throughout the islands, and most frequently,
427 payment is in a traditional means, such as an occasional basket of taro or yams, or on a special occasion, a small pig.

511 Upon initial inspection, the information presented thus
423 far suggests a land shortage in the Kingdom. However, this interpretation is not necessarily valid. When confronted by statistics showing less than one-half of the Tongan taxpayers possessing allotments, several qualifications must be recognized. Misallocation and maldistribution of land certainly exists. However, none of the interviewed population, even in the squatters section of the
511 capital, appeared to be critically short of food. In cases where
426 land is totally unavailable for household cultivation of vegetables,
431 it is traditional to borrow or receive subsistence foodstuffs from
511 neighbors, friends, or relatives. In this way even the totally landless Tongans benefit from garden produce. (Food quality does vary within the Tongan popualtion, and this will be discussed further within a later chapter.)

241 Borrowing land for cash cropping or purposes other than
434 subsistence food production is rare. In very few interviews with
[423] landless Tongans did the sale of cash crops contribute to the
[425] income of the household, and this fact was often reflected signifi-
511 cantly in the income of the landless family. However, landlessness should not be considered synonymous with poverty in Tonga. Land-
434 less households, though enjoying less agricultural cash income,
431 often receive income from more fortunate relatives, in the form of gifts. (While the most frequent extra-subsidiary expense

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423 expressed by landowners, as well. However, only 0.3 percent of the
829 sample expressed the opinion that the tenure system should be reorganized. Though this appears to be contradictory, most informants, when pressed on the issue, implied that the land tenure system was based on tradition, and would not change.

511 Considering these features of the system, the following conclusions may be formulated. Although landlessness exists on a large scale throughout Tonga, few landless households suffer critical hardships resulting from land shortage. Most landless individuals consider their income sufficient for household needs. An occasional landless family enjoying remittances from abroad or who derive income from fishing or labor may even achieve an income level above that of the average allotment holder.

121 Land tenure must also be considered in terms of its role in the nation's agricultural economy. Although an in-depth analysis of Tongan agriculture is contained within the following chapter, its relation to land tenure can be considered within the framework of the [457] present section. The major issue which arises is that concerning the basis for the development of cash cropping, which is vital to Tonga's balance of payments.

241 Cash cropping has been largely confined to the production of
245 bananas and cocnut products. This does not mean that other cash crops
245 are being rejected, owning to land tenure. At the present, several attempts are being made to develop the cultivation of vanilla and
[439] citrus as cash crops. Nonetheless, the great majority of export

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161 in varying degrees throughout the Kingdom, though it is greatest in Ha'apai and portions of western Tongatapu. As population pressure increases and maintaining a living through agriculture means becomes more difficult, migration from these regions can be anticipated.

241 Related to this issue are the decreasing agricultural yields resulting from lower fertility levels, shorter fallowing periods and the

[166] expansion of cash cropping. When cash cropping profits become substantial enough to support a given household, independent of large scale home food production, the motivation for migrating to an urban area is high. Such migration results in absentee landholding and the utilization of friends or relatives to harvest the cash crop. Thus, agricultural acreage is removed from domestic food production, and

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51 allocated to cash crop production. The cash earnings are used to maintain the household in the urban environment. Consequently, the family experiences an increased dependency upon a greater proportion of foreign imports in order to satisfy its food and material

369 needs. The effects of this are currently being felt in Nuku'alofa,
433 a direct result of too many urban consumers being served by too few

[457] rural producers. The Kingdom is operating under an increasing trade deficit in order to supplement native food production with imports (Table 20). A Eventually, this will necessitate major adjustments in the national economic profile.

369 Migrating to an urban area such as Nuku'alofa often increases
554 the social position of the household. Urban living is perceived as
[166] being synonymous with an improved standard of living, while agricultural employment is considered to be a lower prestige occupation.

A [See Category 457, p. 124--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 125]

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Malnutrition was further reported to be the fifth leading cause of death among young in-patients at Vaiola hospital on Tongatapu in 1971 (Jansen 1973, p. 3).

It is probable that borderline malnutrition, or at least undernourishment, has existed in the South Pacific to some degree since the influenza epidemic of 1918. Rapid population growth has been prevalent and unabated since that time. The situation in such urban environments as Nuku'alofa is becoming serious with regard to nutrition and general well-being. The high cost of living and underemployment, aggravated by the overflow of unskilled or semi-skilled laborers, has resulted in a subsequent increase in the number of malnourished children. Foods such as yam, fresh fish and fruits which traditionally were eaten by all Tongans are now, for many families in Nuku'alofa, a luxury beyond their economic means. Money secured through cash cropping, relatives or overseas remittances often is insufficient to support a large urban family and migrating relatives. Jansen (1973) concluded that under prevailing conditions,

> two points must be kept in mind: a. in spite of socio-economic progress, technology, better education, etc., many children in the Pacific Islands actually die because they lack proper food; b. the survivors may be permanently stunted in physical, and possibly mental, development (Jansen 1973, p. 43).

In the present investigation, the incidence of protein malnutrition or undernourishment was of prime interest. Throughout the sample survey, children of preschool age groupings (here defined as 2 years 0 months to 5 years 0 months) were examined. Data presented

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Recommendations

000 Recommendations following this research might take several forms. The most immediate need involves the complete redistribution [511] of land now being held by the nobility or royal family. Further, allotment sizes of four acres appear able to provide the needs of the average family. Therefore, division of existing eight and one-quarter acre or larger holdings into four-acre units seems advisable. It is fully recognized that the existing political and social structure of the Kingdom make implementation of such recommendations difficult. More realistically, the following may be offered with some expectation for immediate or future implementation.

[241] 1. Inasmuch as pest damage to Tongan agricultural production amounts to 20 percent of exportable cropping, newer forms of effective pest control are appropriate. The rat, as the most [241] destructive, should receive first priority. Reducing foliage cover and using protective measures for crops has been shown ineffective in the Tongan situation. Therefore, newer approaches of research are advisable, including disruption of the rodent's feeding base and the possible introduction of predators, i.e., viral or mammalian. Such control measures, if successful, would benefit not only the Tongan situation, but other Pacific islands as well.

2. Owing to the already serious population maldistribution, it is advisable that immediate action be taken by the Tongan government leading to the strengthening of rural activities, resettlement or planned settlement of migrating Tongans, and the discouragement of

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313 sector is directed to the construction of banana cases and local
313 housing construction. It should be noted, however, that since
654 1954, the Tongan Department of Agriculture has begun a small scale reforestation program designed to determine the feasibility of developing this as an exportable economic resource (Great Britain Colonial Office 1956-64, p. 22).

241 Other species of vegetation which are culturally important to Tongans are those which produce the majority of the nation's food. These include the breadfruit, coconut, banana and various root crops.

433 Until recently, Tonga has had the distinction of being one of the few Pacific territories which could be called a self-supporting community (Harris 1966, p. 127). Economically, Tonga is essentially an agricultural country. There are no notable developed mineral resources and the only industry consists of minor processing
439 facilities for agricultural products. Economic necessities from outside the islands are paid for by exports of bananas and coconut
457 products in most cases. Until recently, Tonga enjoyed a favorable balance of trade. However, this balance has tended to reverse in the past few years with the tendency toward larger and larger deficits as shown in Table 20. A A

511 The population in the past has been in the position to plant
[438] a large portion of their food requirements. Any cash requirements were usually provided through the sale of bananas and coconuts to regional collection points (Great Britain Colonial Office 1956-64,
511 p. 11). This subsistence system is rapidly altering due to increasing
178 A A [See Category 457, p. 124--Analyst.]

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pressures of population upon the land. The result of this pressure is seen in part in a growing dependency on imported foodstuffs.

Exports have been the only significant source of income for the Kingdom, though earnings from tourism and overseas remittances are becoming increasingly important. Of this trade, copra, bananas, and pineapples represent the only items traded in quantity internationally. Copra currently accounts for more than 70 percent of the total exports and, therefore, the export income of Tonga is largely at the mercy of fluctuations in world copra prices (Kennedy 1968, p. 20; Britten 1968, p. 53).

A diversification of export crops is possible under existing environmental conditions. However, the isolation of Tonga from international trade routes coupled with distance from markets make large scale diversification unlikely in the near future.

Fundamental in the economy of any agricultural nation is the policy formation regulating land use by the native element. In Tonga, ultimate title to all land rests with the King. However, every individual is entitled to an eight and one-qaurter acre farm lot and a two-fifths acre town lot. Obviously, in light of the growing population situation, the plan cannot work as the policy intends. However, in the past the policy had the effect of allowing most people the opportunity to plant and earn a subsistence living from the earth. The law, at present, states that males upon reaching 16 years of age are required to register with the government for tax purposes. At the same time, all are invited to